

884.2.3<sup>9</sup>  
THE  
Representative  
OF  
*London and Westminster*  
IN  
PARLIAMENT,  
Examined and Consider'd.

WHEREIN

Appears the Antiquity of most of the Burroughs in *England*; with the Proportions, whereby every County is over or under Represented, according to a Scale from the Royal Aid Assessments; by which appears that *Middlesex* is found to be Represented but one Tenth part of it's due Proportion; unto which a Remedy is proposed, and several Reasons offer'd to prove the same, of Universal Benefit to the Kingdom.

By a Gentleman. *B*

LONDON,

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THE  
 REPRESENTATIVE  
 OF  
*London and Westminster*  
 IN  
 PARLIAMENT,  
 CONSIDER'D.

**F**ROM what Principles in the Law of Nature, whether of right Judgment in things, or meerly those of Self-preservation, or if from some Dictates of Rational Society, or if solely from unsearchable ways of Providence Divine, it may proceed, is not the Intention of *these* to enquire; but so it is, that if one takes a view of *Ages past*, and will adventure to judge the Opinion of Men by their Actions, it seems to have been *in all Times* the Common concurring

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Judg.

Judgment of Mankind, that the Benefits of *Climate* (a benign *Air*, a fruitful *Soil*, sweet *Water*, and the like) do very much fall short of those which a propitious *Government* affords.

For no Charms have been able to quell the Disquiets which *Violence* and *Oppression* produce : Tho' other Inconveniences (however great) are reconcil'd and overlook'd by the Innate Love of our Native Soil, yet upon the Alarms of imposing Tyranny, we may observe all Nations to dwindle and decay, multitudes flying that Evil as a Plague, above all others intolerable : For Evidence whereof, let any man recollect the Effects which ancient *Egypt*, *Greece*, and *Italy* betray'd under such *Catastrophes* ; let *Pern* tell the Fall of the *Incaes* and its Consequents ; tell *Ferrara* how the domineering *Tiara* has made you prosper ; let *Naples* relate what the *Anjouvine* and *Castilian* Visitations caus'd her ; speak *Florence*, *Pisa*, and the Vale of *Arno*, if your Numbers and Riches encreas'd with the Yoke of *Medicis* : but lest these instances be too remote for Time or Place, we'll take a view of some nearer, for more indubitable proof of the point.

O happy *England*, highly favour'd of Heaven, which can yield no considerable Instance of this kind in her Records ! May no lupine Ferocity ever taint her Constitution, that She may remain inviolate as many Ages as the Chronicles of *China* boast theirs. *Oppression*, it seems, is a foreign Plant, which though she will not thrive in our bad Air, is no Stranger elsewhere in *Europe* ; so that when we pass the Seas, we need not the *Alps* any more. *Flanders*, *Brabant*, and *Artois*, when they fell from the

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the House of *Burgundy* into that of *Austria*, how populous, how rich, how flourishing in Trade, *Philip de Commynes* abundantly declares; very different from, and far excelling, the condition of *Zealand*, *Holland*, and *West-Friesland*, their neighbour-Provinces. But now let the Experiment be try'd, if Liberty with an inclement incommodious Syte can countervail the Loss of a most delightful, fruitful, native Country, under the Aspects and Influence of Tyranny: In the latter then, some of the haughtiest Nobility must lay down their Heads on a Block, for being Advocates of the ancient Rights of their Country; one City beholds within her self a Citadel rearing her Bastions (soon garnish'd with Artillery); others have *Quo Warranto's* pass against their Municipal Rights, and when Murmurs or Opposition rise, all is construed Riot and Rebellion, and then the Wealthy Citizens are Fined, Imprison'd, and Confiscated: In consequence of these things, some Imposts and Gabels are impos'd without the regular Orders of the Estates, and an Army from *Italy* of Foreigners take up Free-quarter in the Towns: We need no more, one Age will discover the Effects; the People insensibly file Northwards, where they intrench themselves in the Mudd; the Ocean is debarr'd her wandring, the hollow Land made firm, and Lakes drein'd; the loose Sand becomes a stable Foundation for great *Emporiums*; the ancient Cities of *Flanders*, *Brabant*, and *Artois* unhive themselves into the new ones of *Holland*, *Zealand*, and *West-Friesland*; and, in a word, the younger Colonies (notwithstanding the disadvantages of Nature) yielding an *Asylum* to Liberty,

shall equal and far exceed what the former ever were. Thus we see a Republick form'd, which in one Century is become more puissant than the *Roman* amounted to in three.

Having been more explicit in the case of *Fla ders*, I pass by the later one of *Denmark*, so candidly and curiously exemplified by an excellent hand: In the days we live, *France* it self is a pregnant instance too, for the swarming *Catholicks*, as well as *Huguenots*, of that Nation, in all the Countries of *Europe*, are so many speaking Witnesses of the inward decay of that Realm, since the Parliament of *Paris* (the Shadow of the ancient States-General of that Kingdom) yielded up the Ghost. In *Germany* the Imperial free Cities are more populous, rich, and their Territories better cultivated than commonly those of the Princes: So likewise the most inhospitable Mountains of *Switzerland* are better replenish'd with Inhabitants than the luxurious Plains of *Lombardy*; all which is ascribable only to the Ease of a mild and impartial Government. From which Historical Evidences therefore, and because many more of like kind may be produc'd, I draw this Conclusion, That gross Air does not more naturally depress *Mercury* in a Tube, than the Gravity of malevolent Councils does the *Genius*, *Wealth*, and *Number* of any People.

Now, since such Effects are universally and conformably in all Ages and Countries, proceeding of such Causes, it cannot be unfit to ascribe the same to the over-ruling Wisdom, Justice, and Goodness of the Universal Monarch of Mankind, who, according

ing to the 107th Psalm, has reserv'd this Honour and Prerogative wherewith to chastize the Insolence of his Viceroy's on Earth, as well as the Dissoluteness of their Subjects: Thus *He turneth a fruitful Land into barrenness, for the wickedness of them that dwell therein*; and upon their Repentance, *the Wilderness again into a Standing Water, and dry Ground into Water springs*: And there he maketh the Hungry to dwell, that they may prepare a City for habitation, sow Fields, and plant Vineyards, which may yield them Fruits of encrease: On the other hand, abusing His Mercy, they are again brought low through Oppression, Affliction, and Sorrow; then *He poureth Contempt upon Princes, and causeth them to wander in a Desert, where there is no way*: At the same time, *He setteth the poor on high from Affliction, and maketh him Families like a Flock*: The righteous shall see it and rejoyce, and all iniquity shall stop her mouth. Who-so is wise, and will observe these things, even they shall understand the loving kindness of the Lord. Now sure, above all Nations, the People of England have reason to joyn in the Chorus of this Psalm, *O that men would praise the Lord for his goodness, and for his wonderful works to the Children of men.*

By a mild and propitious Government, (the Blessing so much esteem'd) I mean such an one, whether Monarchical or otherwise, as pursues for its end the Security, Ease, and Welfare of its People, the Reverse of which is, when those Considerations are put in the second instance, and made but subsequent

quent to some other. If I mistake not, Magistrates are originally appointed Ministers of God for good to the People, for which cause Tribute is paid; not that the People are given as a Prey to the said Ministers. Now, in order to have the afore-said ultimate End of Government duly consulted, I suppose it indispensably needful that the People have some *Representative*, which may not only report their Grievances, but be sufficiently empower'd to obtain Redress of them: Which Supposition, I own, does conclude, that Absolute Monarchy can be no more than accidentally and precariously propitious, but has in it no conclusion at all against Monarchies of the *Gothick* Frame.

Upon dissolution of the *Roman Empire* in the *West*, the several Nations that shar'd it among them agreed all in one Scheme of Government, which though it admitted of Variety in other matters, yet every where did establish a *Representative* of the People, that had power to redress all Grievances in the Administration, which partook with the Prince in the Legislature, and without whose Consent he could levy no Taxes on the Subject. Herein then was abundant Provision for a mild and equal Regimen of Affairs, wherein near upon all the Countries of *Europe* were many Ages happy; but in the Century newly expir'd, a dismal Cloud did overspread the most of them, which hitherto has not reach'd our *Fortunate Island*, but *England* yet enjoys what they once possess'd. Without a sufficient *Representative* of the People, there can be no adequate Caution or Warranty for their Liberties: But *England* having preserv'd uncorruptedly the former,



as the sole *Palladium*, she continues to enjoy the kindly Fruits and natural Effects of it; so that, I hope, the Testimony of *Philip de Commynes* will ever remain verified in us; *Of all the Seigneuries of the World*, (says he) *the Realm of England is the best govern'd Commonwealth, where the People is least oppress'd, and the Authors of Broils, or Disturbers of Peace, the most punish'd.*

The Constitution of *England*, often batter'd, often undermin'd, often betray'd, has not subsisted so long, but by the miraculous Power of GOD several times, for his own most Wise and Good Ends, interposing between Her and Ruine; unto *one eminent Instance* of which, the Eyes of all men living may bear testimony, if their Memories do not wickedly fail them: And as *His Gracious Majesty* has fully answer'd the Promise of his Declaration, *to do all things necessary on his part*, that our Nation may be in no more danger of falling at any time hereafter under Arbitrary Power; so will the Prudence of our Senate shine bright, in all Ages to come, in making so many Provisions to keep the Fountain of all our Joys, the Kingdom's Representative in Parliament, pure and uncorrupt. Such are the following Clauses or express Acts in this Reign, that no Speeches in Parliament shall be questionable elsewhere, no Recommendation of Members for the *Cinque Ports* shall be made as usual, Penalties declar'd on *Excise-Officers* intermeddling with Elections, the like for False and Double Returns, Assignment of Time and Place for County Elections, no Members to be concern'd in any Moneys granted by Parliament, no Officers of Excise or Customs



to sit in the House, a Parliament to be new chose once in Three years, no Expences to be after date of the Writs for Electing, no Person under the age of One and twenty be capable of Sitting, abridging the Privileges of Parliament in case of Debt or Process; and when the new *Saxon Line* commences, no one having Office or Pension from the Crown shall be capable to serve, no Pardon under the Great Seal shall be pleadable to an Impeachment of the Commons; and, in fine, the Representative of *England* (like the *Venetian* Senate) is henceforth to subsist on the Death of her Princes. Over and above these momentous provisions, there was a Bill last Session in agitation, for better maintaining the Dignity of Parliaments, which provided, That in such Burroughs as have fewer than Fifty-score Votes of Electors, the Freeholders of the Hundred should be allow'd to vote. For what reasons the said Bill was dropt, the Author knows not, but that gave the first life and motion to these Thoughts of his.

The Representative of *England* consists then of Two Houses, which jointly make one Parliament; for the Lords, call'd to it by Summons or Patent of Nobility, are reputed Trustees for the Community, and Guardians of our Liberties, in the same kind as some of the House of Commons are elected by their own Tenants, or the Proprietors of *Old Sarum*, (where no living Soul inhabits) may Return themselves, and yet when vested in the Trust, are equally careful of the Publick, as those who are introduc'd by several Thousand Voices. This Honour therefore can no ways be denied to the

the House of Peers, who have through a long succession of Ages worthily acquitted themselves of it, and the publick Liberties are the safer by their Honours Prerogatives. However, the House of Commons having much more their existence from, and dependence on the People, do claim somewhat peculiar in this matter, and in the Argument propos'd are solely to be treated of.

The Representative of the Commons of *England* at this day, consists of Five hundred and thirteen Persons, under the distinguishment of Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses, the Barons of the Cinque-Ports being comprehended under the latter head; and the several Districts of the Kingdom whence these Deputies (as in *France*, *Poland*, *Holland*, and elsewhere such are and have been call'd) are sent, be obviously as followeth: The Forty Shires of *England* send 80 Knights, and the Twelve Shires of *Wales* 12, in all 92 Knights, elected by the Freeholders of the several Counties; the Cities, Burroughs, and Ports of *England* are Two hundred and four, which all send 409 Deputies, and the Twelve in *Wales* 12, together making 421, who with the 92 Knights, make up the Roll of that August Assembly. Among the Burroughs of *England*, — *Bewdly*, *Banbury*, *Abington*, *Monmouth*, and *Higham-ferrers* send each but one; *London*, *Oxford*, and *Cambridge* every one Four, and the rest all Two a-piece; in most of which places privileg'd to elect, every Housekeeper contributing to the Church and Poor, (as a Free-man of *England*) has a Vote, but in some that Right of the Electors is restrain'd,

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and

and in others enlarg'd profusely ; touching which I no ways intend a minute Discourse, but at present it shall suffice to say, That as the Charter of *Wenlock*, 8 *Edward* the 4th, is the first in our Records, which has in it an express Clause for sending Members to Parliament, so it is conceiv'd that all Corporations or Burroughs by Charter till that time, had it virtually included, as a Right inseparable to such Bodies.

To bring the Essentials of our Constitution into argument, were unpardonable Presumption in a private person ; those who have the Legislature are ever to remain sole Judges of it : For my part, I do not allow my self to debate the alteration of any thing hitherto establish'd, but as a sincere Lover of his Country, I think it better becomes, to justifie and applaud all the parts of that Constitution under which we have liv'd so long, the happiest People under Heaven : Therefore if any object, That the *West* carries an unreasonable over-balance in this Representative ; I answer, (granting the Supposition) There is even a Felicity in that Error, for those Counties have the best of our Ports, they are our immediate Frontier towards *France*, and so the Dominion of the Channel is their sole Barrier, they lie in the Line of Navigation, the richest of our Mines and most important Manufactures are on that side. If others object, That the Land-holders are not proportionably represented to the Inhabitants of Burroughs ; I say, The practise in the most of the said Burroughs being ( for some Ages ) to return Gentlemen of considerable Estates in Land, has in some sort transmitted their Right to the same  
In-

Interest; and hereby it is we are built on a firm Foundation, there being no such Caution of Good-behaviour to the Publick, as a valuable Concern in it; though had the Bill of last Session pass'd, or any other like it for the future should, to transferr the Right of Election to the Land-holders from incompetent Burroughs, there is little doubt but it would find a general Approbation and Applause, because the more knowing, free, and numerous the Electors are, the better Judgment of the Candidates may be presum'd from them, provided the number be not beyond measure exorbitant.

To refer then those Affairs to their proper Judges, the Intention of these Papers is,

*First*, To enquire a little into matter of Fact, how long the several Burroughs now electing Members have exercis'd that Privilege, which has given them the title of Prescription; (for touching Knights of the Shire, I shall speak but occasionally.)

*Secondly*, To shew from Observations thence, that an Encrease of Burroughs does no ways interfere with the Essentials of our Constitution.

*Thirdly*, To lay down a Scale of Property, or Rule to compute the several proportions of the Body represented.

*Fourthly*, To demonstrate, that there is no parallel in the Kingdom to the Case of *Middlesex*.

*Fifthly*, To propose somewhat in favour of *London* and *Westminster*, from several Reasons and Arguments to prove, that the same would be of great benefit to the Kingdom in general.



*First*, For evidence of Prescription in those Burroughs, which sent Members to Parliament any time before the end of *Edward* the 4th, the Author builds himself entirely upon the 3d and 4th Parts of *William Pryn's Collection* (from the Tower-Records) of *Parliament Writs*, both those for Election and those for levying their Expences after the Session; which latter were constantly issu'd, even down to the commencement of the last Century: I refer my Reader to the foresaid Books, where he will see the Names of all such who serv'd for every Burrough in *England* during those Ages: He may observe also, within the space of 220 Years, there were 110 new Parliaments elected; and many more Curiosities will therein appear, but I confine my self to such Observations only as belong to my proper Subject. Mr. *Pryn* says, the most ancient of those Writs are dated 49 *Henry* 3d, issu'd to the Sheriffs, to summon the several Burroughs in their Counties by Precept, to Elect and Return Members, whereon the Sheriffs made constantly their Returns with these words, *Nec sunt plures Burgi intra Ballivam meam*; so that his *Collection* whereof is subjoyn'd an *Extract*, is certainly exclusive of all right to Prescription higher than *Henry* 7th, in the present Burroughs not specified therein. However, it is not to be conceiv'd that the oldest of those Writs did erect an House of Commons, any more than Summons to Parliament of some Barons by Tenure (near the same time) did first constitute an House of Lords; but rather it would seem, that the practises then begun did from one undivided Council or Parliament of Barons form two distinct Houses.

I must



I must premise also, that the Sheriffs being only enjoyn'd in those Writs to send Precepts to their Burroughs, without a List of what Towns were such, they sometimes spoke their Partialities, in giving Precepts to some that were not so; whence it arose that there are 35 Towns mention'd in those Records which at this day do not send Members, though thereby they had a like Claim with the 23 Astracis'd, that now do; among which pretermitted Towns, *Axe-bridge* made 5 Returns, *Chard* 8, *Chipingnorton* 3, *Farnham* 3, *Witney* 5, *Kingston on Thames* 4, *Storford* 8, *Blandford* 2, *Dadington* 2, *Bradnisham* 2, *Ledeford* 2, *Ravenspur* 2, and all the rest but one; or, receiving Precepts, never did return at all: but *Torrington* in *Devonshire*, from the 30 *Edward* 1. unto the 5 *Henry* 4, having made 32 Returns, pleaded her poverty by Petition to the King's Council, for a discharge from that burden; wherein, after two or three Applications, they were gratified by Letters Patents of Exemption: To maintain two of their Burgeses for the benefit of the Commonwealth, was not look'd upon so much a Franchise in those days as a Service in which they were bound to the Crown. The same reason made others not to send very frequently, and some utterly to refuse the Privilege; and if now-adays 2 s. *per diem* were levy'd on the Burroughs, for each of their Representatives, during *Parliament attendance*, perhaps *Torrington* would not long remain the Sole Instance of praying a Discharge.

*Burroughs which sent Members to  
Parliament before An. Chr. 1483,  
and how often they did severally Re-  
turn unto that time, as followeth.*

*From the  
Counties of*

Bedford.

Berks.

Bucks.

Cambridg

Cornwall.

Cumberl.

Darby.

Devon.

**B** Edford, 28 Edw. 1, and in all 106 Returns  
New Windsor, 1 Edw. 2, and in all 22 Returns  
Reading, 30 Edw. 1, and in all 89 Ret.  
Wallingford, 30 Edw. 1, and in all 85 Ret.  
Chyping Wycomb, 28 Edw. 1, and in all 79 Ret.  
\* Agmondesham, 28 Edw. 1, and 1 & 2 Edw. 2, late-  
ly restor'd.  
\* Wendover, 28 Edw. 1, and 1 & 2 Edw. 2, restor'd  
21 Jac.  
\* Great Merlow, 4 times to 33 Edw. 3, lately restor'd.  
Cambridge, 26 Edw. 1, and in all 95 Returns.  
Launceston, 26 Edw. 1, and in all 88 Ret.  
Leskard, 1 Edw. 2, and in all 65 Ret.  
Loftwithiel, 4 Edw. 2, and in all 64 Ret.  
Truro, 26 Edw. 1, and in all 75 Ret.  
Bodmin, 26 Edw. 1, and in all 86 Ret.  
Helston, 26 Edw. 1, and in all 77 Ret.  
Carlisle, 30 Edw. 1, and in all 88 Ret.  
Darby, 26 Edw. 1, and in all 97 Ret.  
Exeter, 26 Edw. 1, and in all 109 Ret.  
Totnes, 26 Edw. 1, and in all 77 Ret.  
Plymouth, 26 Edw. 1, and in all 11 Ret.  
Barnstable, 26 Edw. 1, and in all 82 Ret.

Devon

- Devon.** Plympton, 26 Edw. 1, and in all 76 Returns.  
Tavistock, 4 Edw. 3, and in all 71 Ret.  
Dartmouth, 24 Edw. 3, and in all 51 Ret.  
\* Honiton, 28 Edw. 1, & 4 Edw. 2 restor'd lately.  
\* Oakehampton, 28 Edw. 1, & 7 Edw. 2, restor'd lately.  
\* Ashburton, 26 Edw. 1, and no more till lately.
- Dorset.** Pool, 14 Edw. 3, and 4 times more to 12 Edw. 4.  
Dorchester, 26 Edw. 1, and in all 83 Returns  
Lyme, 28 Edw. 1, and in all 70 Ret.  
Weymouth, 12 Edw. 2, and in all 50 Ret.  
Melcomb Regis, 1 Edw. 2, and in all 75 Ret.  
Bridport, 26 Edw. 1, and in all 75 Ret.  
Shaftsbury, 26 Edw. 1, and in all 81 Ret.  
Wareham, 30 Edw. 1, and in all 57 Ret.
- Essex.** Colchester, 26 Edw. 1, and in all 94 Ret.  
Malden, 7 Edw. 3, and in all 69 Ret.  
\* Harwich, 17 Edw. 3, only restor'd lately.
- Glocester.** Glocester, 26 Edw. 1, and in all 90 Ret.
- Herefford.** Hereford, 26 Edw. 1, and in all 102 Ret.  
Lempster, 26 Edw. 1, and in all 85 Ret.  
\* Weobly, 26 Edw. 1, and thrice more to 33 Edw. 3. re-  
stor'd 3 Char. 1.
- Hertford.** Hertford, 26 Edw. 1, to 7 Hen. 5, in all 18 Returns  
\* St. Albans, 26 Edw. 1, and ten more to 5 Edw. 3, re-  
stor'd by Edw. 6.
- Huntingt.** Huntington, 26 Edw. 1, and in all 93 Returns.
- Kent.** Canterbury, 26 Edw. 1, and in all 101 Ret.  
Rochester, 26 Edw. 1, and in all 88 Ret.
- Cing. Ports** Sandwich, ) from 49 Hen. 3, unto 12 Edw. 3, were en-  
Dover, ( join'd to elect 3 or 4 each, and most of that  
Hyeth, ( time the same stile was us'd in their Writs  
Rounny, ) as to Barons, whence so call'd to this day.

- Lancashire\* Lancaster, 26 Edw. 1, and to 33 Edw. 3. but 11 Returns; lately restor'd.  
 \* Preston, 26 Edw. 1, and to 33 Edw. 3, but 11 Returns; lately restor'd.
- Leicesters. Leicester, 26 Edw. 1, and in all 99 Returns.
- Lincolne. Lincoln, 49 Hen. 3, and in all 111 Ret.  
 Grimsby, 26 Edw. 1, and in all 84 Ret.  
 Stamford, 26 Edw. 1, and but 6 Returns in all.  
 Grantham, created by Edw. 4.
- Middlesex. London, 26 Edw. 1, and in all 93 Returns.
- Norfolk. Norwich, 26 Edw. 1, and in all 91 Ret.  
 Lynne, 26 Edw. 1, and in all 70 Ret.  
 Yarmouth, 26 Edw. 1, and in all 85 Ret.
- Northampton. Northampton, 26 Edw. 1, and in all 101 Ret.
- Northumb. Newcastle, 26 Edw. 1, and in all 80 Ret.
- Nottingh. Nottingham, 26 Edw. 1, and in all 98 Ret.
- Oxford. Oxford, 26 Edw. 1, and in all 110 Ret.  
 \* Woodstock, 30 Edw. 1, & 33 Ed. 3, restor'd 13 Eliz.
- Salop. Shrewsbury, 26 Edw. 1, and in all 97 Ret.  
 Bridgenorth, 28 Edw. 1, and in all 92 Ret.  
 Wenlock, 8 Edw. 4, by Charter.
- Somerset. Bristol, 26 Edw. 1, and in all 96 Ret.  
 Bath, 26 Edw. 1, and in all 99 Ret.  
 Wells, 26 Edw. 1, and in all 88 Ret.  
 Taunton, 26 Edw. 1, and in all 75 Ret.  
 Bridgwater, 26 Edw. 1, and in all 91 Ret.  
 Ilcester, 26 Edw. 1. and in all 30 Ret.  
 \* Milburnport, 28 Edw. 1, & 33 Edw. 3, restor'd 3 Car.
- Southampton. Winchester, 26 Edw. 1. and in all 96 Ret.  
 Southampton, 26 Edw. 1, and in all 79 Ret.  
 Portsmouth, 26 Edw. 1, and in all 78 Ret.  
 \* Andover, four times to the 33 Edw. 3, restor'd lately.



- Stafford. \* Litchfield, 4 *Edw.* 2, and to 33 *Ed.* 3, in all 9 Returns.  
 Stafford, 26 *Edw.* 1, and in all 89 Ret.  
 Newcastle, 29 *Edw.* 3, and in all 45 Ret.
- Suffolk. Ipswich, 26 *Edw.* 1, and in all 85 Ret.  
 Dunewich, 26 *Edw.* 1, and in all 60 Ret.  
 \* Orford, 26 & 35 *Edw.* 1, restor'd lately.
- Surrey. Southwark, 26 *Edw.* 1, and in all 88 Ret.  
 Blechingly, 26 *Edw.* 1, and in all 59 Ret.  
 Ryegate, 26 *Edw.* 1, and in all 61 Ret.  
 Guillford, 26 *Edw.* 1, and in all 98 Ret.  
 Gatton, 29 *Hen.* 6, and in all 5 Ret.
- Sussex. Chichester, 1 *Edw.* 2, and in all 93 Ret.  
 Horsham, 30 *Edw.* 1, and in all 65 Ret.  
 Midhurst, 4 *Edw.* 2, and in all 50 Ret.  
 Lewes, 26 *Edw.* 1, and in all 61 Ret.  
 Shoreham, 26 *Edw.* 1, and in all 66 Ret.  
 East Grinstead, 1 *Edw.* 2, and in all 52 Ret.  
 Arundel, 30 *Edw.* 1, and in all 75 Ret.  
 Brembre, 26 *Edw.* 1, and in all 26. } Usually, as one Bur-  
 Steining, 26 *Edw.* 1, and in all 13. } rough, return'd jointly.  
 Seaford, 20 *Edw.* to 1 *Hen.* 4, and in all 8 Returns,  
 not as a Port.
- Rye, }  
 Winchelsea, } vide Kent, Cinque Ports.  
 Hastings, }
- Warwick. Warwick, 26 *Edw.* 1, and in all 88 Ret.  
 \* Coventry, 30 *Edw.* 1, and to the 27 *Edw.* 3, in all  
 8 Ret.
- Westmorl. Apleby, 26 *Edw.* 1, and in all 85 Ret.
- Wiltshire. Salisbury, 26 *Edw.* 1, and in all 97 Ret.  
 Wilton, 28 *Edw.* 1, and in all 93 Ret.  
 Downton, 26 *Edw.* 1, and in all 25 Ret.  
 Calne, 26 *Edw.* 1, and in all 32 Ret.



- Wiltshire. Devizes, 28 *Edw.* 1, and in all 51 *Returns*.  
 Chipenham, 26 *Edw.* 1, and in all 27 *Ret*.  
 Malmesbury, 26 *Edw.* 1, and in all 57 *Ret*.  
 Cricklade, 1 *Edw.* 2, and in all 34 *Ret*.  
 Great Bedwin, 30 *Edw.* 1, and in all 27 *Ret*.  
 Lurgurshall, 28 *Edw.* 1, and in all 25 *Ret*.  
 Old Sarum, 34 *Edw.* 3, and in all 28 *Ret*.  
 Marlborough, 26 *Edw.* 1, and in all 61 *Ret*.  
 Hindon, 27 *Hen.* 6, and in all 6 *Ret*.  
 Heytesbury, 28 *Hen.* 6, and in all 5 *Ret*.  
 Westbury, 27 *Hen.* 6, and in all 6 *Ret*.  
 Wottonbasser, 25 *Hen.* 6, and in all 7 *Ret*.  
 Worcester. Worcester, 26 *Edw.* 1, and in all 103 *Ret*.  
 \* Droitwich, in *Edw.* the 1. & 2, were 5 *Returns*; re-  
 stor'd lately.  
 York. York, 49 *Hen.* 3, and in all 92 *Ret*.  
 Kingston on Hull, 12 *Edw.* 2, and in all 67 *Ret*.  
 Scareborough, 28 *Edw.* 1, and in all 79 *Ret*.  
 \* Rippon, 1 *Edw.* 2. only; restor'd lately.  
 \* Malton, 26 *Edw.* 1. only; restor'd 1640.  
 \* Northallerton, 26 *Edw.* 1. only; restor'd 1640.  
 \* Beverley, 26 *Edw.* 1, & 15 *Edw.* 3. restor'd lately.  
 \* Pontfract, 26 *Edw.* 1. only; restor'd 18 *Jac*.

*Burroughs which never did send Mem-  
bers till after An. 1483.*

*From the  
Counties of*

Berks.	A	Bington.	
Bucks.	Buckingham	_____	Aylesbury.
Cheshire.	Chester,	by Act, 35 Hen. 8.	
Cornwall.	Eastlow,	by Charter, 13 Eliz.	
	Foway,	by Charter, 13 Eliz.	
	St. German,	by Charter, 5 Eliz.	
	St. Mawes,	by Charter, 5 Eliz.	
	Saltash,	_____	Tregony.
	Camelford,	_____	Bossiney.
	Westlow,	_____	St. Ives.
	Crampound,	_____	Newport.
	St. Michael,	_____	Penryn.
	Callington.		
Cumberl.	Cockermouth.		
Devon.	Beer-Alston,	_____	Tiverton.
Dorset.	Corfe-Castle.		
Durham.	Durham,	by Act, 25 Car. II.	
Glocester.	Cyrencester,	by Charter, 13 Eliz.	
	Tewxbury.		
Kent.	Maidston,	by Charter, 7 Edw. 6.	
	Queenborow,	by Charter, 13 Eliz.	
Lancaster.	Newton,	_____	Wigan.
	Clitheroe,	_____	Liverpool.
Lincolne.	Boston.		
Middlesex.	Westminster.		
Monmouth.	Monmouth,	by Act, 27 Hen. 8.	

Norfolk.	Thetford, _____	Castlerising.
Northampt.	Peterborow, _____	Brackly.
	Higham-ferrers.	
Northumb.	Morpeth, _____	Berwick.
Nottingh.	Newark, <i>by Charter of Charles II.</i>	
	East Retford.	
Oxford.	Banbury.	
Salop.	Ludlow, _____	Bishops-Castle.
Somerfet.	Mynehead, <i>by Charter 5 Eliz.</i>	
Southampt.	Christchurch, <i>by Charter 13 Eliz.</i>	
	Stockbridge, <i>by Charter 5 Eliz.</i>	
	Petersfield, _____	Yarmouth.
	Lymington, _____	Newton.
	Whitchurch, _____	Newport.
Stafford.	Tamworth, <i>by Charter 5 Eliz.</i>	
Suffolk	Aldborough, <i>by Charter 13 Eliz.</i>	
	Eye, <i>by Charter 13 Eliz.</i>	
	St. Edmondsbury, _____	Sudbury.
Surry.	Haslemere.	
Worcester	Evesham, <i>by Charter 3 James.</i>	
	Bewdley.	
York.	Knaresborough, _____	Richmond.
	Boroughbrigg, _____	Heydon.
	Aldborough, _____	Thirske.
Walles	12 <i>Burroughs, by Acts 27 &amp; 38 Hen. 8.</i>	

This Catalogue contains 82 *Burroughs*, and the former 134, which together compleat the number in our Parliament, *viz.* 216.

*Secondly,*

Secondly, By Computations drawn from these recited Catalogues it will manifestly appear, that an encrease of *Burroughs* has never been judg'd any breach of the Constitution, but contrariwise the continual progression of Number seems to have been a considerable access of Strength to it : There is no Instance of diminution, except the single Case of *Torrington*, for the pretermision of those 35 formerly Summon'd cannot amount to it ; the majority of them express'd sufficiently their Indifference and Refusal of that Privilege, and the Seven which obey'd their Precepts more than twice, yet soon grew weary of the Sheriffs officiousness to summon them ; or else the Sheriffs desisted therefrom, because really they never had, in the Tenure of their Towns or by Charter, any Right to be summon'd ; one of which causes must also belong to the Astracis'd 23 : and it may well be conceiv'd the continuance of returning Members in several others of the lesser Burroughs, was due rather to some Gentlemen of Estates adjoyning, than to any Disposition or Concern of the Inhabitants ; nor is it improbable their very first Summoning or Institution was so likewise.

As to the 23 I have Astracis'd in the first Catalogue, 6 of them sent but once, and 6 twice, but neither they, or any one of the remainder, did send Members for above 120 Years preceding the end of this Collection of Records ; so that no impartial man can disallow us to deduct those 23 from the 134, and to say, that at the latter end of *Edw. 4.* the Representative of *England* had in it but 111 Burroughs at the most, and 37 Counties, (*Monmouth, Durham, Cheshire,* and those in *Walles* being since added ) which allow-

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ing 2 Members for every one of either, makes in all but 296 persons: *Edw.* the 4th created *Grantham* and *Wenlock*, *Hen.* the 6th *Gatton*, *Hindon*, *Heytersbury*, *Westbury*, and *Wottonbasset*, so that until his Reign there could be but 282 Members in the House of Commons: nor is it likely the number was higher in any Reign before; for *Edw.* the 3d and 2d created 38 Burroughs between them, which overbalances the 36 pretermitted: but if we consider how frequently many of the allow'd Burroughs fail'd to make Returns, and that the Counties sometimes sent but one Knight, and in particular that *Windsor*, *Pool*, *Plymouth*, *Hertford*, *Stamford*, *Ilcester*, *Brembre*, *Steynings*, *Seaford*, *Downton*, *Calne*, *Chipenham*, *Bedwin*, *Lurgurshall*, not one of them sent a fourth part of the times that Parliaments were call'd; it is not probable that, until the Reign of *Henry* the 6th, the House of Commons did ordinarily consist of more than half the present Constituent thereof.

From *Edw.* 4. unto *Edw.* 6. *Mr. Pryn* tells us the Records of this kind are near all lost; and since the latter, they are so confus'd, that he could not draw from thence a like account of the newer Burroughs: What is therefore observ'd of the last Catalogue of 82, and the Astracis'd 23, was drawn by him from the Commons Journal, except some very few things which the Author hereof has on good Authority added: I could have wish'd to have made the Chronology of the latter Table as perfect as that of the first, for thereby my Argument would have look'd with a better grace, tho' already there is abundantly sufficient to support it. *Hen.* 8. by Act privileg'd *Chester*, *Mounmouth* and *Walles*, all which Counties and Burroughs encreas'd  
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the House of Commons 31 Voices; *Maidston* and *St. Albans* were added by *Edw. 6*; thirteen Burroughs more by *Q. Elizabeth*; three more and the Universities by *Jam. 1*; four in the time of *Charles 1*; *Newark* by Charter, and *Durham* with Knights to the County by Act in *Charles* the 2d.

Since then from the highest Antiquity in Record frequent addition of new Burroughs has been, and almost in every Reign successively to this day, without any Imputation of altering the Foundations of our Constitution thereby, the like therefore may surely be again whenever the King and Parliament see good; which is all the Inference drawn from the Premises, except that addition of Number in the same Burrough is taken to be included, as of the like nature; so *Wenlock* and some others now sending two, formerly did but one, and *Cambridge* and *Oxford* have been privileg'd to send four. The *Venetian* Grand Council has in it 3000 without confusion, and that of the Barons by Tenure anciently in *England* had undoubtedly more. I proceed then to the *third* division of this Discourse.

*Thirdly*, In pursuance of the intended method, I am to lay down a Scale or Standard, by which to examine the several Proportions of the Body represented, in the choice whereof (having no Precedent) I hope to be the more easily excus'd, if the Rule by which other things are try'd be it self not perfect; since to him who would use Political Arithmetick, or argue touching things from Numbers, (a way lately recommended by a polite hand) it is of necessity to find an Area whereon to fix his Machine: A Foundation then to our purpose must be, I conceive, some kind of Rule in Property, rather than any Scheme of Numbers, taken from  
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the *Capitation* or *Poll-taxes*, and that I have chosen I thought more certain than any Terrar of Land which could be drawn ; besides, I industriously evade all Novelties, and therefore shun any Parallel of *Oceana's Agrarian*, or forming the whole Representative from the Land, in prejudice of the Burroughs of this Kingdom, a majority whereof has attain'd to so venerable Antiquity in their prescription.

The method of Taxation call'd a *Royal Aid*, which is become more frequent with us of some years past than any other, is what I have fix'd upon ; whether it be the most unrepachable Rule of Subsidies, is not in my Argument to controvert ; but this I undertake, to draw no Conclusion from the use of it, but what must be verified by any other Scale of Proportions whatever. The particular Act I have taken of that sort, is that which by an Assessment of Two Shilling *per l.* on all Revenues did raise in the Year 1700 the Sum of 989965 *l.* 19 *s.* 6 $\frac{1}{2}$  from the whole Kingdom, by the several Proportions hereunder specified, as in the Act more at large appears ; which said Sum being subdivided by 513, (the number of the Kingdom's Representatives) does produce 1930 *l.* to be the Standard, by which every County may be known, whether it be over or under-represented in Parliament, and by what degrees it is so : Not that I argue the Body ought to be represented by such Shares without distinction, but craving Leave only to state Matter of Fact in the form following, I hope not to frame thence any malignant Inference, or unworthy of a Gentleman.

Of the aforeſaid Tax,

	l.	s.	d.	Sends Members	Its proportion.
Bedfordſhire paid	14277	7	5 <sup>3</sup> / <sub>4</sub>	4	7 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>
Berkſhire paid	20527	0	4	9	10 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>
Buckinghamſhire paid	23830	8	9	14	12 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub>
Cambridgeſhire paid	16413	1	6	6	8 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>
Cheshire paid	14299	12	11 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub>	4	7 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>
Cornwall paid	15987	13	0	44	8 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub>
Cumberland paid	1856	19	1 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	6	1
Derbyſhire paid	12046	19	10 <sup>3</sup> / <sub>4</sub>	4	6 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub>
Devonſhire paid	41291	11	8	26	21 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>
Dorſetſhire paid	16558	3	9 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub>	20	8 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>
Durham paid	5298	17	2 <sup>3</sup> / <sub>4</sub>	4	2 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub>
Effex paid	45503	10	10	8	23
Glouceſterſhire paid	23761	6	5	8	12
Herefordſhire paid	10204	13	4	8	5 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>
Hertfordſhire paid	21486	12	8	6	11
Huntingdonſhire paid	7748	12	6	4	4
Kent paid	41721	14	2	18	21 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>
Lancashire paid	10494	17	3 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub>	14	5 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>
Leiceſterſhire paid	17435	19	6 <sup>3</sup> / <sub>4</sub>	4	9
Lincolnſhire paid	36113	5	2	12	19
Middleſex paid	153877	1	5 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub>	8	79 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub>
Monmouth paid	4906	3	2 <sup>3</sup> / <sub>4</sub>	3	2 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>
Norfolk paid	42330	6	2	12	22
Northamptonſhire paid	24053	13	4 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	9	12 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>
Northumberland paid	7274	8	8	8	3 <sup>3</sup> / <sub>4</sub>
Nottinghamſhire paid	13638	5	4 <sup>3</sup> / <sub>4</sub>	8	7
Oxfordſhire paid	19591	13	1 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	9	10
Rutlandſhire paid	2762	11	11 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub>	2	2 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>
Shropſhire paid	14530	9	6 <sup>3</sup> / <sub>4</sub>	12	7 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>
Somerſetſhire paid	36236	11	9	18	19
Southamptonſhire paid	27594	3	0 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub>	26	14 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>
Staffordſhire paid	13560	11	7	10	7
Suffolk paid	36909	12	7	16	19
Surrey paid	33507	6	9 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub>	14	17 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub>
Suſſex paid	30410	0	6 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	28	16
Warwickſhire paid	19932	5	4	6	10 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub>
Westmorland paid	1522	11	10 <sup>3</sup> / <sub>4</sub>	4	0 <sup>3</sup> / <sub>4</sub>
Wiltſhire paid	25836	3	11 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	34	13 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>
Worceſterſhire paid	16848	9	3 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	9	8 <sup>3</sup> / <sub>4</sub>
Yorkſhire paid	45816	5	8	30	23 <sup>3</sup> / <sub>4</sub>
Wales entire paid	21968	16	8	24	11 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>
	989965	19	6 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	513	513

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Fourthly,

Fourthly, To demonstrate that there is no Parallel in the Kingdom to the Case of *Middlesex*, I have no more to do than to state some Proportions in the recited Appropriations on the several Counties, as followeth.

Of the Counties most Over-represented,	sends for	Of the Counties most Under-represented,	sends for
<i>Cumberland</i> —————	6 1	<i>Middlesex</i> —————	8 79 $\frac{1}{4}$
<i>Westmorland</i> —————	4 0 $\frac{1}{4}$	<i>Essex</i> —————	8 23
<i>Cornwall</i> —————	44 8 $\frac{1}{4}$	<i>Leicester</i> —————	4 9
<i>Wiltshire</i> —————	34 13 $\frac{1}{2}$	<i>Cheshire</i> —————	4 7 $\frac{1}{2}$
<i>Dorset</i> —————	20 8 $\frac{1}{2}$	<i>Bedford</i> —————	4 7 $\frac{1}{2}$
<i>Lancaster</i> —————	14 5 $\frac{1}{2}$	<i>Norfolk</i> —————	12 22
<i>Those of Wales</i> —————	24 11 $\frac{1}{2}$	<i>Hertfordshire</i> —————	6 11
<i>Northumberland</i> —————	8 4	<i>Warwick</i> —————	6 10
<i>Suffex</i> —————	28 15 $\frac{3}{4}$	<i>Lincoln</i> —————	12 19

As to the first Classis of this Table, the *Over-represented*, I am no ways concern'd to reflect upon it, and have drawn it only for illustration of the case in hand: *Prescription* is their Title, and the Experience of some Ages having produc'd no dangerous Consequence that, in my Opinion, does sufficiently answer whatever Reflections may be rais'd from the *Agrarian* Principles; altho' at the same time I should think it very unequal to argue the same Right of Prescription for a Negative, viz. that because *Middlesex* never was represented by more than 8, therefore it never ought to be so; and this principal reason I give, that the very same Argument applied to all the other Counties, must of necessity reduce them to their several conditions in *Edward the First*.

Touching the second Part of this Table, the *Under-represented*, the most distinguish'd are three; *Leicester*, which



which has about one half of its proportion; *Essex*, which has about one third, and *Middlesex* one tenth, so that the case of the latter is undoubtedly without any Parallel; wherefore if a way of redress may be propos'd for her, which can never be drawn into Consequence, or applicable to any other, and which is at the same time beneficial to the Kingdom in general, I hope not to deserve ill from any, in offering such a one: But before I descend to the said Proposal, one thing more ought to be premis'd, That the County of *Middlesex*, because of its entire dependance on her two great Cities, is to be consider'd as their Suburbs; and therefore I shall not offer any thing on behalf of the Freehold-election, (that being conceiv'd not disproportion'd to other Counties in general) but what I have to say, is in behalf of *London* and *Westminster*, abstractedly taken.

Considering the Promise to make no use of my Standard of Proportions, which will not hold good by any other whatsoever, and that henceforth I am restrain'd to speak of *London* and *Westminster*, it follows to shew, that the other Cities of the Kingdom will have as little reason to emulate any Favour paid to these, as the Counties in competition with *Middlesex* could pretend: In the Act recited the Quota of *London* was  $l. 61667 : 1 : 3\frac{1}{2}$ ; that of *Westminster* was  $l. 31729 : 0 : \frac{1}{4}$ ; whereas *Norwich* paid  $l. 4259 : 5 : 11\frac{1}{2}$ ; *Bristol*,  $l. 3695 : 15 : 4$ ; *York*,  $l. 2319 : 14 : 0$ ; *Oxford*,  $l. 1867 : 4 : 10$ ; *Cambridge*,  $l. 1423 : 1 : 6\frac{1}{2}$ . We see then the advantage of Argument rises higher by this comparison than the former one of Counties; wherefore having thought fit to mention it, I do willingly abridge my self of it, lest any ill construction should arise.

*Fifthly*, By the Standard here us'd, the Proportion of *Middlesex* would be, to have 79 Members of Parliament ; but since it is certain, the Rights of particular places ought to be wav'd, if inconsistent with the Welfare of the Community, and the inequality of other Counties (warranted by Prescription) will not justify any Pretensions to approach the like. I suppose my self to have abundantly express'd the native English Jealousie for the *Untainted Honour* of our Constitution, and to have obviated all perverse Constructions, when I offer on behalf of *Middlesex* but a quarter-part, by this Standard, of her Proportion, viz. that *London* might find Twelve, and *Westminster* Six Citizens for our Parliament, which with the Knights, would be in all Twenty for *Middlesex* : However, with the freedom of a true English-man these things are mention'd ; it is entirely upon Supposition still that the same would be of permanent considerable advantage to the Kingdom, which is refer'd to the Judgment of the Publick, and left to depend wholly on the Validity of the Arguments ensuing.

Now, to have the state of the Case rightly understood, it is needful to recite something in short of what has been already said : It has been taken for a Foundation-principle, that the Welfare of *England* does very much depend upon the Dignity of her Representative in Parliament, which Dignity appears to have been, for many Ages successively, consulted by Addition of number to it ; but her present Constituent being examin'd, and the Counties compar'd by a Scale of Computation, *Middlesex* is by vast degrees the most of all other under-represented therein : For which obvious Defect in the Representative of our Coun-

Country, a Provision is tender'd in Terms so moderate, as is suppos'd to obviate all malign Reflections ; since the same can never be pleaded on behalf of any other County, because *Middlesex* will still continue (without parallel) much the lowest represented in that Assembly, and because the reasons given for such Provision can never probably be applicable to any other ; so I proceed to offer the Considerations which do make it seem the Common Advantage of the Kingdom.

1<sup>st</sup>, The degree of inequality in the particular Case before us, is it self an Argument for redress, tho' a lesser would not be, because it is far from being parallel'd at home, or perhaps in other Countries abroad ; for the case of *Apenzil* having equal Vote in the Diet of *Switzerland* with the Canton of *Bearn*, and that of *Overissel* a like in the States-General with the County of *Holland*, is very different from ours, because in both those the greater are not concluded by the less ; *Bearn* and *Holland* receive no Laws or Taxes from the over-ruling Votes of *Apenzil* and *Overissel*. This Instance is not indeed in other points just the same with ours, and therefore I frame hence no Argument, but use it for illustration only ; somewhat nearer is that of *Amsterdam* compar'd with the small Cities, which jointly compose the States of the Province of *Holland*, and in this Instance the greater is concluded by the less, the majority of Votes determining in many, though not in all points ; in that Assembly *Amsterdam* has one Vote in 19. *London* but one in 105 of the Burroughs. I alledge these foreign Instances only to obviate the Objection, That the inequality here mention'd as a Grievance, is no more than

than what is found in all other Countries in like case. But the inequality, say some, if warranted by Prescription of many Ages, why should it now be complain'd of? I answer, without debating whether that Title be indisputable in all points, that *London* for many Ages sent 4 Members to Parliament, when the whole number thereof rose not usually higher than half the *present*; unto which if we add the growth of *London* and *Westminster* for 100 years past, we shall find the Inequality pleadable now before us, has not much the authority of Prescription for it.

But because no one shall suspect that this Inequality is due solely to a false Standard or Balance us'd, I am content the Quota propos'd be examin'd by two other Scales, which an Ingenious Author has furnish'd us with; he says, the Number of living Souls in the Kingdom is computed at Five millions and an half, whereof within the Bills of Mortality are Five hundred and thirty thousand; he says, the latest Books of Hearth-money reckon a Million and Three hundred thousand Houses in the Kingdom, (the lowest Cottages included) whereof the accurate Survey of *London* and *Westminster* (about the same time taken) reports therein near One hundred thousand; so that *Middlesex* rising higher than both those Proportions, may well be estimated One tenth part of the whole Kingdom, by which account her Members in Parliament would be Fifty one: Wherefore the present Inequality may be suppos'd a Subject worthy of Redress, as is acknowledg'd in like case by the Preamble of the Act 35 *Hen.* 8, empowering the County and City of *Chester* to send to Parliament.



2dly, The proportion of Tax by the Act herein us'd may well stand for an Argument to prove my Proposition reasonable ; for, Can there be any thing more so, than that those who bear the Burden should enjoy the Privilege ? Is there any thing more agreeable to our Constitution, than that the Subject's Money be not given otherwise than by their own Consent ? Can there be any thing more laudible and good in the sight of GOD and Men, than that the utmost Impartiality possible be us'd in proportioning all the Impositions of the State ? This is to have our Exactor's Righteousness, a Prayer which the Throne of Heaven does encourage ; and, I believe, if the matter were enquir'd into, great and heavy Taxations have in all Countries been more cheerfully born by the People, when levied with Equality, than far less when manifest Partiality has been practis'd ; something of which kind was a principal Ingredient in most of those calamitous Revolutions, which have broken the *Gothick* Frame in the several Principalities of *Europe*, as would be easie to make appear ; but we need not any Argument to that end, the Act herein specified is conceiv'd to be in its Proportions equal, and in that sence is the Foundation of all that has been advanc'd.

Wherefore taking it for granted that *Middlesex* justly bears 2 parts in 13 of all Subsidies levied in the Kingdom, then can it be unreasonable she should have 2 in 51 of the Representative, which is the sum of our Proposal when allow'd ? or, What sufficient Reasons can be given, that some Burroughs which pay but 20 *l.* for their Quota, should be represented equally in the Estates with *Westminster*, which pays as often

31729 *l.* to the support of the Government? Not that a Degree in the Representative is pleadable in proportion to the degree of such Payments, but only where so vast a difference is in the *one*, there some distinction ought likewise to be in the *other*; as appears to have been practis'd from the ancient'st Records of our Constitution, for *London* and the *Cinque Ports* (usually) were enjoyn'd to send more than any other of the Burroughs. If Queen *Elizabeth*, having for some years to do with the E. of *Desmond*, a powerful Rebel in *Munster*, gave unto *Mynehead* in *Somersetshire* this Privilege among others by Charter, on the Condition of keeping their Harbour in good repair at their own costs, from the same just reason of Usefulness and Benefit to the Publick, is some Distinction here pleaded for, on behalf of *London* and *Westminster*.

3dly, The Interest of Naval Power our common Glory and Defence, seems to stand in need of some extraordinary Cultivation; for tho' we hear it frequently advanc'd, That *England* by her good Fleet could subsist, and defend her self against any foreign Invasion, without Alliances abroad; however it be a Riddle in it self, yet is built commonly upon a Paradox more absurd, which is to say, that our Dominion at Sea may be sufficiently maintain'd without the Root of a Merchantil Navigation; so that to exalt our Power at Sea, and depretiate at the same time the Subservience of Traffick, is common among us: If such would be pleas'd to look backwards, I am well assur'd Trade will appear to have been mostly the Parent of all Marine Force, and the natural Support of it, and without which it never has subsisted in any Nation longer than the Rign of some extraordinary Prince,

Prince, or during some difficult junctures. To expatiate on this Subject, would need a Tract apart, therefore taking it for granted, that the Royal Navy of *England* cannot long flourish without the Subservience of an answerable Commercial Navigation, what I have to say is as followeth.

Most Countries in *Europe* at this time imploy their sedulous Endeavours to cultivate every one their proper Manufactures, to invent new ones, to improve their Native Materials or Productions, to discourage Foreign Imports, and, as 'tis call'd, to turn the Balance of Traffick in their respective Favours; which measures I conceive arise from a Consent in Politicks, that as Money is now (more than ever) the Nerve of War, (so that Gold seems rather to command Iron, than Iron Gold) Trade is necessarily consulted, as the chief Minister of Wealth. Now no Country in *Christendom* has the natural Advantages, and so much adaptness for Trade as *England*, and withal has a more absolute dependance upon it, but at the same time *Aulick* Councils and Committees of Country Gentlemen are not likely to produce that Political Encouragement which were to be wish'd; therefore, as good Regulations with us arise ordinarily from the House of Commons, so the multitude of her constant Emergencies, the uncertainty of her Session, and above all, the general incapacity of her Members for Mechanical Affairs has effected, that we see not commonly those good Fruits of her Results in this kind as in others. I should imagin then the admission of the Number propos'd, of Men better turn'd to those Affairs, would be various ways a means of Advancing and Securing the Interest of Trade among us; and when by the New Provision *Courtiers*

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must

must cease their Pretensions to *Westminster* Election, it is probable the Interest of Trade will there prevail, as in *London*.

But because some may judge suchlike matters not worthy the Consideration I would put upon them, and to prevent other Obloquies, I desire them to heed well the Measures of *France* on this head; her superbe Monarch does not think it beneath him to nourish several new Projects of this nature with his own Subscriptions to the first Funds of them; he has erected Courts in several of his great Cities, for the more easie decision of Causes commercial; his Treaties with foreign States are as minutely weigh'd in this regard as any other; and the *Mercury* of *August* 1700 tells us of an Edict issued for erecting a *Council of Trade*, compos'd of 6 Councillors of State and 12 Merchants, *viz.* from *Paris* 2, *Roban*, *Bourdeaux*, *Lyons*, *Marseilles*, *St. Maloes*, *Rochel*, *Nantes*, *Lisle*, *Dunkirk*, and *Bayonne*, one each; these Merchants are to be Yearly elected by those Cities in *July*, by the plurality of Tradesmen respectively, and to render themselves at *Paris* by the first of *October*, there to meet once at least every week, to deliberate of all Proposals, to intend the Welfare of Traffick, and to report their Result to the Council of State. In my mind, this very Pattern, a little model'd to our Constitution, would be more probable to discover the Decays, to rectifie the Errours, and to induce a flourishing Prosperity in our Traffick, than any Council which has been hitherto in use among us, for the particular Reason that made me mention it, *viz.* the great majority of Tradesmen in it.

4thly, Publick Credit is well known to be of indispensable necessity with us, wherefore the good condition



dition of it is a Benefit very valuable to the Kingdom ; without which, Parliamentary Supplies in the usual course cannot answer the Exigencies of the State ; so that the Ordinary Charges of the Government, such as the maintaining a *Summer Squadron*, the having in readines any quantity of *Naval Stores*, nay, the *Disbursements of the Household* in time of Peace, are not supplied without Credit ; much less in time of War can Sea or Land-Souldiers be levied, our Grand Fleet put to Sea, or the necessary Operations in such a case proceed, but by this : And more especially, in extraordinary Emergencies, Surprize, or Distresses of the State, the very Security of *England* must depend wholly upon the good condition of Publick Credit.

By *Publick Credit* is meant, when private Persons lend Sums of Mony, or vend Commodities upon *Trust*, for the use of the Government ; so when that is done with a streightned hand, then it follows, whatever Mony is needed by the State, cannot be had without high *Premiums* ; and in like manner, whatever kind of Merchandise she wants, she must give extravagant Prices for, because in both cases there will appear more of Hazard. 'Tis therefore of inestimable advantage to the Publick to put this matter into a good posture, touching which various Tracts have been publish'd ; and I shall therefore confine my self to the Subject in hand.

If then the Cities treated of do afford in a manner all the Commodities, and advance all the Mony which the State has more or less occasion for ; I conceive the allowing them an Addition to their Representative in Parliament, would be a very cogent means to create and perpetuate in them that Readiness and Confidence

in this kind, as would turn to the vast Emolument of the Nation; whereby the Occasions of high *Premiums* and *Interest* will be obviated: Nor does it appear what Inconveniencies can arise therefrom; for if from Inscrutable Ages some parts of the Kingdom have possess'd an Overbalance in our Parliament, without Damage to the Publick, how should this inconsiderable Addition bring any?

5thly, The Cities herein mention'd making up the August Capitol of our Empire, are the Royal Chamber of our Monarchs, the Seat of our High Court of Parliament, as well as of the highest subordinate Courts of Justice, the Centre of Foreign and Domestick Trade, from which all the parts of the Kingdom (as their Head) derive Influence, as well as reciprocally minister to it: This is our sole *Emporium*, able to furnish out Fleets and Armies, and, in fine, wherein the Majesty and Strength of our Government resides: On which accounts (if the foremention'd be postpon'd) it were not very unbecoming to allow some distinguishing Favour in the Representative.

But, I conceive, there is no such thing at present; for if *London* sends 4 Members, *Oxford* and *Cambridge* do the same, tho' by a much newer Title. If the near Vicinity of *London* and *Westminster* be pleaded for a Favour, that's no more than is frequent elsewhere; as in the case of *New* and *Old Sarum*, (tho' the old be the newer Burrough) *Brembre* and *Steynings*, (formerly returning but as one) *Eastlowe* and *Westlowe*, *Launceston* and *Newport*, *St. Ives* and *Callington*, *Tregony* and *Grampound*, *Truro* and *St. Michael*, *Weymouth* and *Melcomb Regis*, *Rye* and *Winchelsea*, with some others, if *Speed's* Maps of those Countries may be rely'd on.

One

One thing more from the Grandeur of *London* and *Westminster*, which might weigh in this Case is, that the Number and Quality of their Electors is such as will not easily admit of those Corruptions in Election, which have been so rise in the lesser Burroughs.

These Reasons alledg'd for some Distinction to the Cities of *London* and *Westminster* in the Representative of *England*, are obviously taken from Matters of Fact, and put together without Art, the Author being sensible enough he is unable any ways to imbellish a Theme of this nature; so that however the Subject has suffer'd by his Defect, he will have always for his Consolation, the Conscience of a disinterested and unpretended aim at least to the Benefit of his Country: Whether his Judgment herein be condemn'd or approv'd, he will be very little affected, having no Personal concern, more than his private Inheritance, embark'd in the Vessel of the Commonwealth; and as he has been dictated by none but his own solitary Amusement, and therefore has no intention to serve a Party, so his peculiar Care has been, to avoid whatever might justly give offence; but if in that he should be disappointed, he has this one Consolation left, the safe retreat of a mistaken or abus'd Innocence.

In closing a Discourse of this Subject, having pretended to be a Lover of my Country in a juncture like the present, I hope to be pardon'd in adding a few Lines aliene from the point in hand.

It is well known, Dangers from abroad can threaten *England* only from the side of *France*, and His Gracious Majesty has imparted His Opinion, *That our Animosities are the sole Hope of our Enemies*; and if  
so,

so, I doubt not but the Wisdom of our Parliament will soon make it give up the Ghost: GOD forbid! if no Confusion of Languages in the new cementing Kingdoms do defeat our modern *Nimrod* of his projected *Universal Monarchy*, that any such amongst us should however further and accomplish it; let the past Ages warn us sufficiently.

How did the Court of *France* blow the Coals between *Henry* the Second and his rebellious Sons, and then warm her self at the Flames? How did *Philip Augustus* avail himself of our Confusions under King *John* and *Henry* the Third? During the Distractions of *Richard* the Second, how did the *French* extend their Ravages on our Coasts? On the other side, the Animosities of *France* between the Houses of *Burgundy* and *Orleance*, did more to place our *Henry* on that Throne than the Battel of *Agincourt*; and as soon as the House of *Burgundy* withdrew her Interest from ours by the Treaty of *Arras*, the *English* Affairs declin'd there apace. Neither was it the peculiar Bravery of the *English* alone which acquir'd us those vast Advantages under *Edward* the Third, granted by the Treaty of *Bretigny*, but in the Torrent of that Success we were much favour'd by the Malecontents of that Kingdom, as the Earls of *Artois* and *Montfort*, the Lord of *Harcourt*, and above all by the King of *Navarre*, as Earl of *Devereux*, with their respective Partizans. Now let us turn the Tables again, and no sooner does *Henry* the Sixth, in *England*, put us into Brouilleries at home, but within the compass of Three Years we lost all those spacious Dominions in *France*, except *Calais*, with this shameful circumstance, that what was gain'd with unparallel'd Bravery, was lost



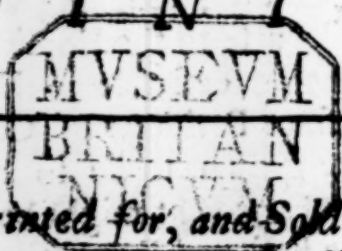
lost without any manner of Defence, so much did the Animosities then rising Unman the *English*. Thus Grandeur and Success between *England* and *France* has been like a Tyde between both Shores, ebbing and flowing as good Order or Confusion reign'd on either side.

'Tis certain no Differences or Animosities can much injure us, but those that affect the Supreme Branches of the Legislature; touching which, as I have restrain'd my Discourse to the House of Commons, so I see but one thing desirable to Her on this Head, which is, That since Petitions of Complaint touching Elections are grown to be so numerous every Parliament, some Expedient might be found to decide them, with more Ease and Expedition, for the Complainants and the House her self: But as every one, no doubt, desires the same, so I hope some good Genius will at length find out a Method to content.

In fine, Tho' we have been a Nation disunited, and *France* at Union within her self too long, yet in GOD's good time it shall be otherwise; the number of Princes of the Blood encreasing, Baulks and Disappointments arising abroad, and Poverty within at the same time, may soon disjoynt that Kingdom; and if our Animosities have been fomented thence, they will consequently fail, when the supposed Fuel is withdrawn. 'Tis certain Cardinal *Richelieu* laid it down as a Maxim, That *ENGLAND* could never be destroy'd but by her self; and accordingly he work'd his Engines, whereof there will never be wanting, whilst the Popish Cause so flourishes beyond

yond Sea, and we tolerate so many embitter'd Subjects of that Perswasion at home: But, I hope, since the Mine is discover'd, it shall not bury us in its Ruines, nor (through the Goodness of GOD) shall the Head of the *Protestant Interest* sink, till Time shall be no more.

F I N I S.



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